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602 of the first ascendant generation and is sometimes extended to spouse's senior siblings, real and classificatory. The second term tiu (junior in-laws) refers to spouse's collaterals and descendant generation kin members. The terms kèsai and tiu can be used to address all relations by marriage if the speaker so desires. Thus, ego's daughter's husband can be a tiu and the father of this person can be addressed as kèsai. Or again a sibling's spouse can be addressed as tiu and the parents of this person are kèsai. Consanguinal terms are used for spouses of parents' collaterals and a spouse's grandparents are given the same term as own grandparents. However, dur does not apply to affines of any kind unless there has been a nyia durbe (kin marriage), i.e. a cousin marriage.

602 For reasons of residence, inheritance and legal responsibility, ties with the father's and mother's kin are of a different [591] kind. The high proportion of patrilocal marriages as well as the [428] differential division of inheritance as between males and females on [671] the one hand and agnatic and uterine kin on the other in Maliki law tends to emphasize the father's agnatic group as the more important.(1) It is also the agnatic kin of the father who go to court to support ego and who help him to pay fines.

601 Terms of reference are most generally formed from the [193] terms of address by adding the possessive pronoun at the end of the word. Thus ya (mother) can be yanyi (my mother) or yanun (your [603] mother) or yansà (his/her mother). Due to the reciprocal nature of the joking relationship between grandparent and grandchild, the term of address (grandparent speaking) is kaka, and is used reciprocally, while the differentiated term for grandchild (diwo) is used primarily

(1) Burton, F.H.; Maliki Law, (London) 1914, pp. 373-397.

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602 individuals involved and traditionally as a cultural value also increases as simple nona is made more rewarding by the progressive addition of more and more patri-aman.

Joking Relationships (suli)

Joking relationships (suli) among the Kamuri refer to a quality in interpersonal relations wherein the customary behavioural restrictions based on seniority, generation and sex differences are relaxed and a formalized pattern of permissiveness of some kind obtains between the parties.

603 The most diffuse or broadly based joking relationship is that between ego and his grandparents and great-grandparents, if
[555] any of the latter are alive. In many cases Kanuri children are
[591] partially raised by their grandparents, being taken from their moth-
[553] er just after weaning. This is especially true when the child is called after his grandparent which is often the case since naming customs generally bring names from alternate generations down the descent system. The child usually has the most intimate and fondest joking relationship with his namesake grandparent, if this person lives close by or adopts him. When this is not the case, the grandparent residing closest is the person with whom a more intimate
553 joking relationship is established. The naming rule gives no prefer-
602 ence to matrilateral or patrilateral kinship; successive children must be named after and/or adopted by each of the spouse's parents alternatively. Thus neither side must obtain a namesake from the same marriage union twice in a row. The reason given for this custom of alternation is that it helps to prevent conflict and jealousy between a man and his wife as well as between the married couple and

553 602 their respective kindred and in-laws. There is no rule about which group should take precedence although the comparative social status of the patrilateral and matrilateral kin seems to be a major factor in the decision. Informants claimed that the child must be taken away from his grandparents some time before puberty and brought under the direct control of his parents so that he (or she) may learn proper respect (bàrzum) because there is no bàrzum, they said, when there is much suli. Table I indicates that this latter judgment is only an approximation to the overall pattern since 14.9% of all responses by ego to grandparents indicate the presence of some respect (bàrzum) behaviour. As a general rule the reciprocality of the joking relationships between alternate generations of the kinship system, extending to include the third ascendant and descendant generations (the yeiya) follows a pattern of more respect between ego and his grandparents and more freindship and fondness between ego and his grandchildren.

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It is not uncommon to see a grandparent visiting his or her friends always in the company of their little joking partners. As the friends sit down to chat of the latest gossip of the day, the grandchild plays nearby, then comes over and nestles in the grandparent's arms, pulls at articles of dress on his person, or pulls at grandfather's beard, and acts generally in a quietly affectionate manner. The observer is struck more with the genuine fondness and affection of the relationship, at its early stages, than with its so-called joking content. As the child grows older the joking aspect becomes more noticeable. The grandparent will point out a young playmate of the opposite sex and say to him -

603 that is your wife, is it?, or to her - that is your husband, eh?
[152] All the restrictions on any show of emotion with own parents are noticeable by their absence in the affective nature of the grandparent joking relationship with its openly expressible fondness and friendship. That there is some discipline involved is indicated by the fact that the child is very often socialized in a grandparent's
[862] house. One grandparent was observed very patiently taking the left hand of his little namesake out of the food bowl, every time the child attempted to eat with this taboo instrument. One adult informant summed up his own attitudes towards the relationship as follows:

> You may pull your kaka's (grandparent's) beards, or go into his house and take his possessions, and he will not mind - he is happy because his children have borne children. If you have a yoiya (great-grandparent) alive, it is the same with him.

[602] [553] Although the suli (joking) relationship holds for all members of the second and third ascendant and descendant generations it focuses for an individual in its most memorable and frequently emphasized form, between himself and his grandparent-namesake, his
603 chuwuna. Many Kanuri names are convertible from male to female
553 forms and thus, cases of a grandchild named after a grandparent of
[551] opposite sex are known. The important point is that the chuwuna (namesake) relationship is most often associated with the practise
553 of grandparent joking relations and possible adoptions. This obser-
571 vation is validated by looking at other chuwuna relationships in the kinship system or between close friends. If a child is named after a father's brother or his father's friend, he and that person have a mildly permissive joking relationship. They address each

571 [602] [601] joking takes the form (usually) of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. The younger refers to and addresses the elder as kaka (grandparent) while the elder may refer to the younger as diwo (grandchild) or address him as kaka. Joking between occupations was observed more frequently than between ethnic groups, while no [829] inter-clan joking was seen at all. Most people do not know the clan membership of the people they associate with in their everyday life.

Friendship and Fondness Relations (numkam)

572 602 The friendship and/or fondness relationships include those interpersonal relations wherein ego finds mutual affection, sympathy and community of interests. As a norm or dimension of behaviour it is much less formalized in the kinship system (indeed in society as a whole) when compared with shame, respect and joking relations. These are regarded as fairly distinct aspects of interpersonal relations which involve some kind of a behavioural criterion or marker, like not eating out of the same bowl, or joking [128] about sexual intercourse, etc. Notwithstanding the possibility of its creation by the anthropologist, rather than the people themselves, as a category of kinship behaviour of the same order as the others, numkam (friendship) seems to be a characteristic of kinship relations as it is of any human situation wherein people live, eat, play, earn their living and feel themselves to make up a unity of some sort.

603 There is a high degree of expressive and affective fondness found in the joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren which centers, as we have seen, most intensively around the sexually attribute of the same relationship. Because of

603 the difference in generation of the parties, there is a higher secondary content of fondness on the grandparent's part, while the slight lessening of this dimension is associated with a corresponding rise of the respect relation on the part of the grandchild. It does not show up in the questionnaire data summarized in Table I, because the joking relations (suli) with grandparents already includes friendship behaviour within its meaning content for this particular category of relative. Therefore when subjects were asked how they behaved towards grandparents, their suli responses included the kind of affective behaviour covered by this relationship.

593 The same thing is true for the relationship to own mother, although for different reasons. No friendship responses were given to own mother, because the cultural ideal of shame-respect is so strong here. Thus there was a blanket response pattern from all subjects in accordance with the traditional value of shame-respect.

[612] Nonetheless, there is the possibility and indeed expectation of an affective fondness and friendship relation between ego (male or female speaking) and own mother, which is extended in theory to

[586] include the mother's kindred. When asked what was the worst thing that he could remember ever happening to him when he was young, an informant replied without hesitation that it had occurred when he had to stay in his father's house on the occasion of his mother's divorce of his father. Another informant related how he had gone to the Jos Plateau to learn something about geological survey work, as part of his training for a job with the Borno N.A. However, after three months he claims he had strong yearnings to see his mother and subsequently sailed off the job and returned to his

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586 explanation of the matter is that his payments merited him more use of the woman than he has received. However, after a year or so (varying with the amount of the bridewealth, the reasons for divorce, the age and number of divorces the woman has previously had) and increasing with time (i.e. use), the husband's claim upon the returnability of his bridewealth diminishes. After a year and a half or so he can reclaim very little, except in proven cases of adultery, where he collects a money compensation awarded by the court. On the other hand, if during the first year of marriage, it can be proven by the girl and her family that the man has given offence or broken the rules, the marriage can be dissolved and the bridewealth forfeited.

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603 In practice, the system can be manipulated to the detriment of unsuspecting persons. One pathetic individual, who had been enticed into marriage with a virgin, found that the girl's grandmother with whom she had been living was against the marriage. Every time he left town for a day or two the girl's dowry was removed from the girl's hut and taken back to her luwali's compound across town where her grandmother lived. The husband had to threaten court action to get it back. The excuse used was that the girl's family was afraid of thieves. Gossip in the town judged that it was the grandmother who was hoping for a dissolution of the marriage. These people claimed that she was trying to anger the husband by taking the dowry and the girl when he went away and only returning the girl when he came back. The matter soon came to a head when the husband decided to move to the city and take his wife with him. The girl's family disagreed and the matter went to court. The luwali and the grandmother accused the husband of mistreating the girl and claimed that the marriage should be dissolved with forfeiture of the bridewealth. The husband defended himself by saying that he had

597 population of Bornu. The practice seems more frequent among the upper
[565] classes of society where the young child and his growing ability to
contribute services to the household are a less vital consideration.
• [603] As noted in the last chapter the most frequent destination of adoptions is the grandparent and if possible the namesake grandparent. Informants gave, as one reason for this practice, the claim of fondness-affection which the grandparent holds for the child, especially when there is a namesake relationship between them. Another reason, less often reported but still important, is the inability of the young child to behave in the culturally prescribed manner to parents. That there is some validity to this latter view is indicated by the fact that the custom of adoption is not permanent but temporary. It is arranged before the birth of the child, begins just before weaning, and ends
[591] around the time of puberty. That is to say, the child returns to his parent's home when he is more able to conform to the social requirements of parent-child, especially father-child relations. Whether this is the reason for adoptions is difficult to say, certainly it is one effect or result of the custom.

597 In non-grandparent adoptions the person adopting the child
601 is called by the [illegible] term. If there is no kinship term, the male head of the house is generally addressed as [illegible] (Father), and referred to in the same way or as [illegible] (Father of the house), while his wives are addressed and referred to as [illegible] (Ma-Ma). If there is some special relationship, such as a common name between the
597 child and the compound head, the proper term will be used. At all times
602 during his adoption the child is made aware of his status. He knows who his real parents are, whether or not they are alive and well, where they live and what they do, and who and what his relations are to other people in terms of his real father and mother.

597 people in terms of his real father and mother. The following interview material illustrates these ideas in concrete terms.

I asked Mallam Aba Kiari his opinion of the practice of giving away infants just after they were weaned. He told me that he, himself, had been given away. I asked if this was a
[565] good thing. "Oh yes, very, very good," came the reply. He estimated that about four or five out of ten children of the higher ranks of society had been given away after weaning, although he felt that among the peasants the number was much lower because they needed children in their compounds for the help they could give. He had been given to his father's full sister just after he was weaned. This was arranged before he was born. (The informant is the first of two children from the same union). He stayed with his aunt for about nine years, he always called her baba (Fa-Sis). Everyone always told him who his own mother and father were; they
[601] lived in the same town and he often went to visit them at their compound. He addressed the husband of his father's sister as ba'a or aba (father) but always knew that this man was a stranger to him and his family.

I asked him why he thought it was a good thing to give infants away. He answered that it was a very good thing because — if you have a child or perhaps more than one, then your friend, or brother or sister, who have never been able to have any children, experience the joys of parenthood if they are given yours to raise. You lose nothing by doing this kind of thing, for the child is still yours and knows it.
[842] Did he not receive his milk at the breast of your wife? Is he not the result of your own sexual intercourse?

597 "But most people give their children to its grandparents," I said.
603 "Why is that?"

"Ah, because they (grandparents) love the child very much and will be kind and gentle to it. You are a father and the child must have shame and respect for you, but a very small child knows nothing of such things."

597 Whether or not Kanuri adoptions exist for the reasons given
570 by informants, it is certain that they do create, maintain, and strengthen wider social relationships, giving them a solid basis for continuity through time. The links between two residence groups, either in the same kinship system or between different ones, are made concrete and real. The child, by living in intimate contact and having primary social relations both in his biological family and his adoptive family has widened his primary relationships and solidified a definite conti-